1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

WAR CHIEFS

624 Although the Comanche did not attain such a clear differentiation of function and status of the war chiefs as was the case in the more advanced plains tribes, yet the influence of those tribes upon Comanche life is marked in the complex of patterns pertaining to Comanche war chiefs. The study of the Comanche was made too late to learn all one would like to know about the way of the Comanche war bonnet wearer. The information of present day Indians on this point is often vague and confusing. The use of specific [184] types of war bonnets was not a cultural universal throughout the Comanche tribe. There are indications of notable band differences.

624 565 The wearer of the full-feathered war bonnet was a person of special status in the tribe. Although not organized into an association, the wearers of the full-feathered war bonnet formed a special class. They were known individually as tɛ́kniwʌp.[9] A man joined the tɛ́kniwʌp class and was privileged to wear the bonnet by accumulation of sufficient coups, by bestowal of the bonnet as a challenge by the women, or by recovering a bonnet discarded by its owner in flight. These methods will be described.

624 The first road to war chief status is best described in the tale recorded from That's It. (Quotation marks in this and subsequent cases indicate actual transcription of informant's statement.)

Case 1. The Making of a War Chief
Informant: That's It

"The youngest brother wanted to go to war. He was a strong young man, maybe sixteen years old. It was time, he thought, to show his worth to the people.

"He went to his father, telling him of the feeling he had, saying that he wanted to go with the fighters on the raid. His father was glad that his son had such thoughts. 'It is good,' he said. 'And furthermore, my son, I will give you a powerful pony with which to meet our enemies. You shall have a good mule to ride upon the trail, for you must respect your pony. He must be ridden only in battle. Ride upon the mule and lead the pony by its halter until the proper time. When you get to the territory of our enemies it will be time. Leave your mule and get on that pony. Ride [789] him hard like you were meeting the enemy. Do this a short way and stop. Rest! Charge again. Rest once more. Do this four times, my son. Do this, and you will have a pony which will never tire. It will be a famous war pony among the people.'

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[147] [9] The word tɛ́kniwʌp, which in Comanche has come to mean "war leader," is derived from the Shoshone term for peace chief, tɛ́gwɔni. Literally translated in Shoshone this means, "good talk thrown out to the people." The Shoshonean war chief is called nadedink tɛ́gwɔni, "in war, good talk thrown out to the people." The Comanche peace chief term, pʌ́naigo, it will be remembered, has no generic meaning in the Comanche language.

The Comanches

The family headmen - and there was at least one for each group -
622 were the peace, or civil, chiefs. When the large band was functioning
623 as a unit, it contained several peace chiefs, one of whom was recognized as the head chief of the band. The rest formed an advisory council to the leader and at the same time maintained their positions as family headmen.

184 Although the various bands had cultures so similar that it was
619 extremely difficult for the uninitiated to differentiate among them,
621 each band had certain peculiarities which served to identify its members in any company. Each had its favorite dance.[10] One band habitually made clothing from antelope skins, although the others preferred deer skins. One made no pemmican, another made it without berries, and a third always added berries.[11] The southern groups were thought to prefer darker clothing than their northern kinsmen.[12] There were also slight differences in speech. For instance, the Wasp band members (Southern Comanche) pronounced their words more slowly than the Antelope band of the Staked Plains.[13] Bands also differed in a number of cultural aspects less easily recognized, such as magical techniques, sexual attitudes, and character traits. Cultural differences persisted, although it was mandatory upon an individual to follow the customs of the group with which he lived in order to be socially accepted by his new associates, and this despite the frequent exchange of band allegiance and the interband marriages. The extent of cultural differences at present corresponds somewhat to that in the United States between North and South or East and West. All the older Comanche informants were as conscious of the differences as a Texan in Boston. "That was —— [name of band] way" was a very common reply of informants to questions or comments. Notwithstanding these and other slight differences that may have existed, there was, on the whole, little gross variation in habits, customs, and institutions.

174 Only the larger bands received permanent recognition and a name.
619 Before the close of the eighteenth century, the Spaniards in New

[10] R. H. Lowie, "Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone," American Museum of Natural History *Anthropological Papers*, XI, Part 10 (1916), 809–12.

[11] Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, 221.

[12] W. B. Parker, *Notes Taken During the Expedition Commanded by Captain R. B. Marcy Through Unexplored Texas, in the Summer and Fall of 1854*, 202.

[13] Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement*, 17–18.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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out the top of the tipi (Does his spirit rest up there as in the séance?). Descending the pole, he ran around the fire and stepped into the bed of coals from the east, fluttering his arms as a burrowing owl flutters its wings. This spectacular feat completed, he stepped back out of the fire to the east, and walking to the south to complete the circle, he resumed his place at the west edge of the lodge.

His next step was to circle around to the south pond and take some bark from the willows. This he chewed like a beaver. He exhaled upward, blowing out perfume of the beaver.

The first night's curing was over. The medicine man ordered the drummers and singers to start the closing song—a song in which everybody joined. At its end, the fire was extinguished, and everybody milled about in the tipi for a while. On leaving, each participant jumped into the ditch and climbed out on the east side of it. The service was over at midnight.

Early the next morning, the medicine man was out announcing when the next session would begin. The same procedure was repeated, except that it ended at noon. That night it was all done over again, and again the next morning. The whole ceremony lasted two nights and two days, ending at noon of the third day.

Before the people left the tipi on the third day, they sang the closing song four times. Meanwhile, the tipi stakes were loosened, so that at the close of the last song, while still singing, they could lift up the tipi cover and run out in all directions.

Thus was the most powerful of all the curing ceremonies of the Comanches consummated. It must have been an impressive rite, and one which stood out in the stark simplicity of Comanche ritualism. Ralph Linton suggests that the Beaver Ceremony may have been derived from Pawnee sources. He also calls attention to its Earth contacts (the entering into the pit) as an implication of a use of Earth medicine as well as of beaver.[19] We would add that the inclusion of the burrowing owl reinforces the weight of this suggestion.

Two versions of the Beaver Cure were given: one by Post Oak Jim, a member of the Those Who Move Often band, and one by *Kɔwino*, a Yɛp Eater. *Kɔwino's* version described a much more at-

[19] Ralph Linton, "The Comanche," in A. Kardiner (ed.), *Psychological Frontiers of Society*, 67.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

796 755 184 tenuated ritual than that of Post Oak Jim's, which has been presented here. *Kɔwino* said that he described the ceremony as it was performed in later years. That's It, a Water Horse, had heard about the Beaver Ceremony, but had never seen it because it was not performed in his band.

787 796 Of the dances used by the Comanches in search of power, the Eagle Dance was outstanding. It was sponsored by a prominent member of the band, usually the father or uncle of a youth turning warrior. The sponsor sought out a medicine man with strong eagle or war power and offered a smoke. If the medicine man accepted, he assumed complete charge of the ceremony. The decision was for him a serious one. If he accepted, his own power would be diminished somewhat, since it would be spread among the dancers. On the other hand a refusal might be interpreted as lack of confidence in his own power, as fear to risk spreading it out. In such a case, the medicine man would suffer loss of prestige among his own people. Furthermore, there was the factor of remuneration. Relatives and friends of participants contributed gifts. The medicine leader could keep what he preferred for himself, leaving the remainder for the dancers.

After the medicine man accepted the request, he announced the time and place of the ceremony. He and the dancers arose before daylight, went to the creek, bathed, stripped to the breechclout, put on war paint, let their hair down and put eagle feathers in it, and rubbed themselves with sage. After that they sat in a semicircle, with the opening toward the east, and smoked ceremoniously.

When the smoking was over, the leader arose and, followed closely by the dancers, sneaked silently to a near-by camp to "capture" a girl. Spectators remained some distance apart. In the old days the girl had to be a captive. The girl's family made a pretense of defending their camp against the attacking party, but the "victorious raiders" carried the "captured" girl to their own camp where preparations had been made for the remainder of the ceremony.

[801] A tipi or brush lodge was used. The medicine leader provided two, four, or six drummers and singers to help—never an odd number. They sat close together facing the east. The girl sat beside the leader. The dancers first assumed a position directly in front, facing east, but when the music began, they formed a circle around the musicians.

9. Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

601 Thus we see that in spite of these and other exceptional situations the size of the group of relatives which may be established through any given line of relationships is fairly definitely limited. Actually, however, it is quite clear that a Comanche could almost always call every other Comanche by a relationship term of some sort or other, and usually did. Of course, with a system which is completely repetitive, such as this one, it is only necessary to establish relationships with one person in the group, find out in which direction the term goes if it is reciprocal, and all the rest of the relatives will fall into place. This must have been of great assistance in the old days to someone changing band allegiance. At the present time there is seldom any real difficulty in locating a common relative with anyone in the tribe. The actual origin of most of these relationships is naturally lost; usually they will be phrased as "no real relation" or, at best, an "old relation."

But one may speculate that many of them are actual old lines, whose common origins have been lost, but which continue to exist parallel to each other. [582] [184] Several examples could be cited of potential beginnings for such lines; thus one informant (T) was told by his older sisters of a line of "real blood relation" to his father, and he kept this line quite distinct among his relatives. He felt that this would be a definite bar to marriage with any of the people involved; yet his "great-granddaughter" through this line married his "great-grandson" through an older brother. Thus the younger children had forgotten, or ignored, this relationship entirely. The old man was quite obviously very disturbed when this relationship was pointed out to him; he himself had not thought of it specifically before.

The wide disparity between actual age and terminological generation between some of these systems of floating relationships suggests at least that they go back a good many generations. The most striking instance of this involved the other informant from whom a genealogy was collected (TY). She kept several lines distinct, all stemming from relationships which her maternal grandfather, a famous warrior (Red Young Man), had observed and she had 602 noticed, but which he had never explained. Two of these happened to converge 601 upon a friend of hers in the form of husbands, the first of whom my informant addressed as "younger brother," and the other as "great-grandfather."

[55] She also said that before acculturation into the white patterns, when the name-tabus were strong, parents would never tell children even in private more than one or two names of deceased people who were of importance in the family tree, and would do little more than indicate by what term one should call so-and-so, warning that it was a close relationship. It is easy to see how these children could grow up in ignorance of why they used certain terms, and not very aware of the closeness of the relationship, and thus pass on to their children little more than the usage of the terms.

Whether or not this is actually the origin of the majority of the relationships recognized is a matter for conjecture. In any case, we do find these very

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

though this was not invariable. There was apparently no ceremony connected with adoption. 597

An illegitimate child was a great shame to all members of the family, and especially to the girl's brother, whose prestige was to some extent a reflection of that of his family. It was usually brought up by the girl's mother, whom it would call mother. Some pressure was put on the boy by the girl's parents to marry her, but he could not be forced to do so. The girl's family referred to him teknonymously, but his family apparently did not recognize the relationship at all. Her marriage possibilities were somewhat reduced by this unfortunate happening, and she might well become only a secondary wife of some older man. 848 [558] [551]

Twins were not wanted, and were generally considered a danger to the mother, as well as to all her blood kin to a lesser degree. This was especially true as they grew up, suggesting the effects of the gradual emergence of the child's personality discussed above. Some women, with the assistance of powerful names for the children, disregarded this belief and raised them together, but others disposed of the younger twin. If some woman did not come and offer to take one, it might be laid outside the tipi somewhere, where someone invariably came to get it. The mother attempted to forget it. If one twin died, all the clothing and other things which had been prepared for it were buried with it, and the mother or her sister made a round of the camp collecting what was offered in the way of other clothes. 845 [184] [847]

Among the parents' siblings, there is a definite emphasis on the mother's side. The mother's sisters were apt also to be married to one's father and, even if not, were usually around the family helping if possible. The mother's brother is also considered to be a source of guidance, assistance, and favors of fairly major proportions; it is significant that he, also, is permitted to give away a girl in marriage. As usual, behavior toward more distant parents, aunts and uncles depends on personality and propinquity; whether or not they have any children of their own is also often of importance. TY's father remained with her mother's family to marry two more sisters, so that she was brought up in the midst of a great number of maternal relatives. The members of this extended family were rather strikingly unprolific, so that she had very few even distant siblings; as a result she received a great deal of attention and an almost continuous stream of extremely valuable gifts from all her parents, aunts and uncles, even though related in very roundabout ways. Her younger brother, incidentally, became a favorite child according to the best institutionalized patterns. 604 593

Husband-Wife. Wives were very clearly dominated by their warrior-husbands, and acceded to their wishes in all matters, including the treatment of children. Men could, and often would, beat their wives on any pretext they chose, while a wife's infidelity frequently led to extremely harsh treatment, 593 684

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

(ca. 1818)

of the St. Saba, which empties into the Colorado about 60 miles north of St. Antonio. Their migrations are bounded on the west by the mountains, which are generally barren and destitute of game, and on the east by the river Brazos. It is this band principally, that is engaged in the predatory warfare upon the inhabitants of Texas, which they have prosecuted with great assiduity for several years past and which they have continued, with short intervals of peace, from time "whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." Their incursions have not been confined to the province of Texas, which the miserable attempt at revolution in 1812 has effectually, drained of its once immense herds of mules and horses, but they extend their depredations to the several contiguous provinces beyond the Rio Grande. This party can probably bring into the field about 1500 warriors; but to parade this number, I doubt whether they would not be obliged to put in requisition the virgin bows of unfledged boyhood. The largest party they have been known to muster for a campaign, was estimated by eye-witnesses at 12 or 1500 men; and those who are apprised of the imposing spectacle exhibited by a Comanchee parade, will not suspect a *coup d'oeil* estimate, of extenuation. It was known that many of their kindred band, the Yamparacks, were associated with them, and contributed to eke out the formidable array.

I will resume my remarks as opportunity may offer.

B*****.

[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, May 15, 1824]

Letter II

The next party in geographical order is the Yamparacks. These occupy the head waters of the Colorado, occasionally extending their migrations to the tributary streams of the Rio del Norte. They frequently intermingle with, and are found among the Comanchees and are, in no respect dissimilar to them, in manners, customs or appearance, but are virtually the same people, speak the same language, and are characterized by the same peculiarities. There is one

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

[ca. 1818]

exception, however, to the general resemblance.—The Yamparacks are more honest and punctilious in their dealings, and much less addicted to thievery. This may be accounted for, by the fewness of their opportunities of trade; the commercial intercourse between the Indians and whites, has invariably had a demoralizing influence on the untutored Savages.

The Yamparacks can probably furnish from 7 to 800 warriors. These frequently unite with the Comanchees, and participate largely in their depredations on the provincial Spaniards.

Of the Tenaways my information is less minute and authentic, they being seldom visited in their distinct villages, by Americans. But they sometimes descend by families, or small parties, to the Comanchee range, to solicit the charity of their brethren who are more contiguous to our settlements, and are constantly supplied with a profusion of such articles as their fancies or necessities require, and who are extremely liberal to their less favored and often destitute kindred. From the representations of the Comanchees and some of their own chiefs, I conclude their numerical strength does not vary much from that of the Yamparacks. This would place the entire aggregate force of the three tribes at about 3000 warriors, which I presume is a probable computation.

The Tenaways range through a mountainous district that separates the waters of the Rio del Norte, from the rivers of Texas, and they sometimes extend their perambulations to the head waters of the Red River of Natchitoches. They carry on a small traffic with the Spaniards of Santa Fee, from whom they receive blankets, knives and tobacco, in exchange for the mules and horses which they capture from the Spaniards of the adjacent Provinces. They often mingle with the Yamparacks when traversing the southern extreme of their range. The utmost harmony subsists between these several bands. They have no distinct limits assigned them, neither does one party claim, in relation to another, any exclusive sovereignty over the particular sec-

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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Their greatest source of irritation during this span of time was the growing white settlements of Texas. It was during this period of increased contact with Texas that the divisions of the Comanche bands into northern, middle, western, and southern began to acquire a new meaning—one couched in terms of degree of acculturation and the hostilities engendered between the tradition-oriented and conservative Comanche bands and the well-acculturated Comanche bands.

As early as 1779 Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza of New Spain had recognized the highly independent band organization of Comanche society. The term "tribe" had no political significance for the Comanches. Comanche society consisted of a number of independent and sometimes hostile bands which were linked by only the awareness that they were all *nəmənə*, or "The People." Each band exploited a vaguely defined range within the Comanche country and, with the notable exception of the "Quick Stinger" band, never made war on other bands. There were no pervasive political institutions among the Comanche to mold the bands into a political unit. No tribal council, no joint economic activity, and no ceremonial occasion existed that could unite all the bands for even a brief period of time. The various bands even dealt separately with the United States government. The first and last time that a majority of the bands came together was for the occassion of the first Comanche Sun Dance in 1874, held in the dying moments of the old, free nomadic Comanche culture. This first attempt to organize as a tribe, unfortunately for the Comanches, was attempted too late, for by this time the end of the nomadic Comanche life way was but a year in the future.

The Spanish government of New Spain considered the Comanches as being organized into three major bands. The Anglo-Americans also designated three divisions—northern, middle, and southern. Wallace and Hoebel (1925:25) record that Robert S. Neighbors, in 1860, cited the existence of eight Comanche bands; James Mooney later listed thirteen; Robert Lowie in 1912 mentioned only four. The Santa Fe Laboratory group in 1933 was able to gain information concerning thirteen bands. I was able to find evidence of five Comanche bands—*yapai* ("Root Eaters"), *kwahada* ("Antelopes"), *hɔnitaiβ* ("Corn White Men"); or *penatɨkə* ("Eating Honey All the Time"), *honono* ("Hill People"), and *noyaka* or *nokoni* ("Always Moving Around").

Comanche Bands

There is no information on the origins of the various bands or their pre-contact composition and geographical placement. In the following discussion of the major Comanche bands the reconstructed situation is that of the Comanche in their historic territory from approximately the late eighteenth century until the disintegration of the old nomadic Comanche culture in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

The largest Comanche band was the *penatɨkə*, or "Honey Eaters," the southernmost Comanche band. At various times they were known as the "Hospitables," "No Meat," "Steep Climbers," "Wasps" or "Quick Stingers," and "Timber People." This band was the vanguard of the Comanches' southward migration.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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towns of Cache, Snyder, and Indiahoma. The *pɛnatɨkɔ* continue to be the southernmost of the Comanche bands, centered in the vicinity of Walters, Oklahoma.

Perhaps the most ubiquitous and pervasive problems which have confronted the Comanche in the twentieth century are those directly associated with the process of acculturation with the dominant white culture. The traditional–progressive and conservative–liberal schism which has appeared as a disruptive force in contemporary Comanche society very closely follows band boundaries. As might be expected, the southern band, the *pɛnatɨkɔ*, a people with a relatively long history of white contact experience, have been more successful in their transition into the twentieth century than have the *yapai* Comanches, the band with the least amount of contact experience. At present the *pɛnatɨkɔ* are the progressive and liberal Comanches, while the *yapai* stand as the rallying point for all traditionally oriented and conservative Comanches. The *yapai* are joined in the traditionalist camp by the *kwahada* and the *nɔkoni*. This major division is thought of by the Comanches as a division between the northern "tribes" and the southern "tribes."

Most contemporary northern Comanches do not use the term *pɛnatɨkɔ* for the southern people; rather they call them *hɔnitaiβo*, which means "eat corn like a white man," or, more literally, "corn white men." They are often referred to in English as "Freckles," alluding to the great degree of mixed-blood Comanches who, the northerners believe, fill the southerner's ranks. The southern Comanches are less colorful than the northerners in their invectives, simply stating that the northerners are, for the most part, uneducated, drunken, shiftless, and generally responsible for the poor reputation which the Comanches possess in many of the white communities in southern Oklahoma.

Historical indications of the basis for the present-day dichotomy of Comanche society are suggested by Richardson in *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement* (1933). Perhaps the most significant single factor responsible for the subsequent divisiveness of the northern and southern Comanche bands is the geographic distance which separated them well into historic times. At the peak of Comanche territorial expansion, as many as 600 miles could have separated the northern bands, ranging in southern Colorado and southwestern Kansas, from southern bands, inhabiting northcentral Texas.

The Kiowa and northern Comanches made a treaty in 1790 which did not include the southern Comanche bands. This treaty was never broken. During the Texas Revolution the southern bands refrained from taking advantage of the chaos in Texas to raid and plunder, while the northern Comanches and their Kiowa allies joined to make one of the most destructive Indian raids in Texas history. After the Mexican defeat in 1837 the Cherokee chief, Bowl, was commissioned to visit the various Comanche bands to seek peace. The southerners were cooperative and friendly; the northerners, however, were insulting and hostile. In the 1850s when the southern bands were put on reservations in Texas, the northern bands continued their raiding activities with the Kiowas. During this time agent officials complained of the demoralizing effects which the northern Comanches had on the southern reservation wards. Further, members of the

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972, NO(Comanche NO6
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619 southern (Wasps or Quick Stingers) band joined the United States Army in
621 its war against the "wild" northern Comanche bands. This bit of "Freckle"
184 ery is still perpetuated in the war stories told by the northerners.
721
657 The most obvious contemporary example of the ancient roots of this Comanche factionalism concerns the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache constitution established as a result of the Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867. The southerners favor a
619 separate Comanche constitution, while the northerners view this as an attempt to
621 break the long-standing alliance between the northern Comanches and the Kiowas.
184 Sanapia's statement on this subject is typical of the northerner's sentiment.
186

> Here, up to today, those Walter's people are trying to break us up. How could they do that? I got grandchildren that's Kiowa, and the Comanches are all mixed in with them Kiowas. We all together . . . got to stay that way. Those southern people aren't like us. All their old people are Mexicans. Well, they Comanches, same as us, but they act like white people. We've been with these Kiowas and Apaches for a long time, and we can't break it up.

Of course, this traditional[1]–progressive and conservative–liberal differenti-
619 ation suggests but the grossest divisions in Comanche society. There is also the
621 Christian–peyotist factionalism, for example; however, like the other minor factional
184 elements, it is subsumed under the greater northern–southern Comanche divisions.
795 The northern people consider themselves peyotist and look with scorn on the southerner's predilection for Christianity—the white man's religion. The southerners consider the northerners' religious bias primitive and heathenish and but a
619 further example of the inferiority of the northerners in general. In my field
621 research I found the southern Comanches, relative to the northern Comanches, to
184 be generally lacking in knowledge of, or sympathy toward, those aspects of Comanche culture considered by the northerners and Comanche literature to be traditional in nature, that is, relating to the time of the nomadic culture of the Comanches and the values and world view which it posited.

[121] The preceding account of northern versus southern Comanche orientation is intended as a generalizing descriptive attempt. There are, of course, progressive
619 northern Comanches and conservative southern Comanches. However, the rela-
621 tively rigidly defined spatial distribution of the opposing "tribes" will usually call
184 for the progressively oriented northerner to move south and the conservative
166 southerner to move north. I observed several instances in which an individual, in order to visibly state his factional allegiance, moved his abode into the geographic area most closely identified with the faction which he supported.

619 Sanapia is a *yapai* Comanche and an archconservative and traditionalist.
621 The majority of my informants were also northern Comanches, though not all were
184 *yapai*. These were the only people who possessed some "accurate" knowledge con-
115 cerning native doctors and doctoring practices and who actually interacted in this
[755] institutionalized framework. The southerners, recognizing Sanapia's role among the northerners, emphasized the superiority of white doctors over the "superstitious" doctoring practices valued by the majority of northerners.

eggs, but it always feel like I'm choking in here and I just quit eating them. And now I can't get the taste out of my mouth. I'll have it all day long. I just can't eat them. 115 159 756 784

Sanapia's maternal uncle gave her but one "rule." She was forbidden to eat the visceral organs of animals. This was a bitter pill for Sanapia because of her love for liver and an Indian delicacy made from stuffed intestines. She has managed to circumvent this tabu by reinterpreting it. Sanapia feels that if she changes these forbidden meats into something else, disguises them, she can eat them with no fear or guilt. 262

A *puhakut* cannot doctor himself in the manner which was described regarding the removal of the eagle egg. This is unfortunate for Sanapia, for as she grows older, the tabus which she must observe become increasingly cumbersome; and since she is the only living eagle doctor, she has no way in which to relieve herself of these restrictions. This is also a reason for her disinclination to associate with the less traditionally based members of the Comanche tribe. The more conservative and traditional Comanches recognizing the special limitations which are placed on Sanapia's behavior and, honoring them, make her life a little less complicated. With the less traditionally oriented, Sanapia cannot be sure that they understand the meaning of her tabus, and thus she must be constantly on guard around them lest they pass behind her while she is eating, for example, and unknowingly, or perhaps knowingly, cause her to break one of the many restrictions placed on her with regards to food and behavior. Sanapia states that ignorance is no excuse when a "rule" is broken. Her tabus are mechanical. 115 159 756 784 184

The unique feature in the third power transmission was Sanapia's acquisition of her Medicine song. The Medicine song is Sanapia's most direct means of communication to the supernatural realms which are the ultimate sources of her power. The song belonged to both the mother and the uncle. Sanapia considers her Medicine song extremely potent and utilizes it only under the most critical and pressing of doctoring situations. It is not a common element in her doctoring activities but is only employed when she feels that all her other tactics are failing. The song is her ultimate doctoring tool in that it is as close as she comes to actually commanding her power sources to heed her wishes. 115 159 756 533 755 [778]

The immediate result of her Medicine song is the summoning of the spirits of her mother and uncle. She then asks them for support in her attempts to reach more deeply into the supernaturalistic realms for more power and control over the situation which is challenging her. 115 159 756 533 755 775

> When my mother gave me that song she told me, "When you come by yourself like that, when you don't have no place to go for help, when you got no one to lean on for help, sing this song. What you want, you going to get. I'll be listening to you. When you sing this song, I'm going to hear you singing and I'm going to help you." 787

Two tabus concerned with behavior were associated with the power increase of this third stage. Sanapia was forbidden to ever directly make a request of another. Her powers would, according to her mother, allow her to obtain anything 115 159 756 784 195

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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Precipitating Factors

186 775 154 156 The precipitating factors to ghost sickness need not be as externally dramatic as those thus far presented. The drama and the trauma of these factors dwell within the psychological makeup of the particular individual involved. The contraction of ghost sickness can function as a psychic reminder to a Comanche that he is a Comanche. It can serve to reaffirm his ethnic identity. It may be a self-inflicted punishment by a native-oriented Comanche who begins to doubt his traditional culture. Ghost sickness has also served to dramatically solve generational tensions. A young person contracts ghost sickness to signal acquiescence to the parent generation's demands. However, all these factors are ultimately related to the disruptive influences of acculturation with the dominant white society.

186 775 154 156 184 177 The recently developed Comanche ghost complex appears to be a means by which certain Comanche individuals can circumvent the psychological impasses which have appeared as a result of the twentieth-century Comanche life situation. It is particularly beneficial for the traditional group for several reasons. If a Comanche individual chooses this means of relief, he is committed to return to the traditionalist fold. The ghost complex might be viewed as a selective net which the traditional group has thrown around itself. Those Comanches who are drawn into the conditions which lead to the emotional states in which they would unconsciously choose ghost sickness as an "out" are usually relatively sensitive and intelligent individuals and therefore valuable as group members. They would have to fully and traumatically feel their intolerable cultural and psychological position prior to ghost sickness. Those Comanches who approach these same conditions and who fail to react to them, or acculturate, or turn to such relief as alcoholism, would not be very valuable social components to the traditional group in any case. This "net" operates to more effectively retain the big fish, while it lets the little fish run.

186 775 154 156 184 177 562 The fact that men are afflicted by ghost sickness more often than women could be explained by several factors, particularly, the greater degree of independence ideally expected of men, coupled with the real economic dependence of men; in many cases, dependence on women. Women are more effectively controlled by the primary group, while Comanche men are expected to "act like men" in the face of economic difficulties and a white society which does not recognize them as men.

Change in Behavior

186 775 154 156 184 177 The behavior change exhibited by ghost-sickness victims from prior to the onset of ghost sickness until the termination of the cure corresponds with one of the desires which stimulated the victim to ghost sickness in the first place—total identification with the traditional group. They become model traditional-oriented group members, while, prior to ghost sickness, they behaved in a manner considered erratic, bizarre, or "crazy" by these Comanches.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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With regard to Sanapia's niece's child, Sanapia said that she knew who had witched the girl but did not tell the mother for fear of frightening her. Sanapia does not suggest that any supernatural talents are involved in the ability to identify the witch. Since Sanapia believes that witchcraft can only be operated by those with a high degree of *puha*, the field of possibilities is immediately narrowed. She evaluates the community in which the witch's victim lives and, through a process of elimination, selects the witch. She does not make her choice known for fear of frightening the victim or his parents, as has been mentioned, and also because she feels that if her accusations are made public, it would only cause further dissension among the Comanche people. She feels that there is enough tension among the Comanches without adding accusations of witchcraft.

The Contemporary Situation

This chapter has dealt with Sanapia's treatment of a victim who has been witched by the magical insertion of the malevolent essence of an eagle plume. Sanapia doctors also among the Wind River Shoshone, southern Cheyenne, southern and northern Arapaho, Kiowa, Kiowa-Apache, Ponca, Creek, and Fort Sill Apache, as well as the Comanche; and thus she has confronted cases of witchcraft other than the variety which has been described in this chapter. Her general approach to a cure, however, is similar in all cases. She feels that the body of the victim has been put out of balance by some tangible or intangible entity; therefore, to correct the abnormal condition, she works to remove that which is causing this physiological disequilibrium.

Given the antagonistic feelings beween the northern and southern Comanches and the fact that patterns of witchcraft exist, it would seem that there would be a high rate of intergroup witchcraft, at least being directed by the northerners. This does not appear to be the case, a major reason being that the southerners generally do not respond. They consider witches and witchcraft merely superstitious beliefs, or, at best, nonexistent in modern times. A further possible explanation of this lack of intergroup witchcraft is the special distribution of the Comanche bands—the more traditionally oriented bands cluster in the north and northwest of the Comanche area while the more fully acculturated band members are found in the south and southwest. There may be as many as 40 miles separating members of these two groups. Therefore, there is no necessity for daily social interaction between members of the opposing "tribes," which could reduce the generalized hostilities to more intense and socially unsettling personal conflict, thus better facilitating the desire and the opportunity for the execution of witchcraft.

Witchcraft among contemporary Comanches is mainly intergenerational. Older men and women, feeling their life power fading, turn to malevolent magic in an attempt to augment their failing social prestige and to defend themselves against the more vital younger generation. The few cases of witchcraft which I was able to investigate among the Comanches followed this general pattern of essentially intergenerational jealousy and tension. This was also the basic